A Room

A Hysterical Reading of Rodin's *Gates of Hell*

Natasha Ruiz-Gómez

'Oh Lord, Oh Lord, give me faith', I cried, beating my breast, 'Help me find something beautiful in these goiters, these growths, these hysterical distortions!' Jean Rameau (1898)[1]

In 1880, the second issue of the widely-read *Revue des deux mondes* presented an idiosyncratic melange of contents, ranging from an essay on the state of French agriculture to the first instalment of a serialized novel – nothing of obvious note to scholars of modern sculpture. However, this issue also contained two articles that share a certain consonance with the work Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) produced during a pivotal phase of his career. Polish author Julian Klaczko contributed 'Causeries-Florentines: Dante et Michel-Ange', which recounts a dinner conversation among contemporary Florentines concerning the relative merits of the medieval poet and the Renaissance artist.[2] And French physiologist Charles Richet, in 'Les Démoniaques d'aujourd'hui', expounded the symptoms of the hysterical attack, describing them as 'so bizarre and so fantastic that one saw in them, barely two centuries ago, the breath of the devil and of all the demons of hell!'[3] Instead of being burned, Richet tells us, these contemporary 'démoniaques' were being cared for by the Hôpital de la Salpêtrière's Doctor Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–93), one of the founders of modern neurology and the 'prodigious popularizer' of hysteria.[4]

Although these articles are not obviously related to each other, let alone to Rodin, they present the possibility of a tantalizing art-historical oversight. We may never know for certain if this serendipitous collocation of articles in the *Revue des deux mondes* provided the initial spark of inspiration that led Rodin to graft the symptoms of hysteria onto his incarnations of the *Inferno*'s damned souls on the *Gates of Hell* (1880–1917), his most important work (*plate 1*). That he did so, however, seems abundantly clear. This article argues that in the *Gates of Hell*, Rodin engaged with, interpreted and manipulated the visual language of the hysterical attack codified by Charcot and his students. The writhing bodies of the god-forsaken that Rodin created for the *Gates* bespeak their affinity with the photographs, drawings, casts and descriptions of the 'great malady of the century'.[5] The hysterical lexicon permeated the French popular and scientific press during the 1880s – the decade when Rodin began working on the portal and when he had intimate connections to Charcot's family and social circle. By exploring the aesthetic and thematic correspondences between the catalogue of hysterical postures and the *Gates of Hell*, this article brings to light Rodin's engagement with, and appropriation of,

Detail from Auguste Rodin, *Damned Woman (Woman Lying on her Back)*, c. 1884 (*plate 7*).

DOI:
10.1111/1467-8365.12047
Art History | ISSN 0141-6790
36 | 5 | November 2013 | pages
994–1017

© Association of Art Historians 2013

1 Auguste Rodin, *The Gates of Hell*, 1880–1917. Bronze, 636.9 × 401 × 84.8 cm. Stanford, CA: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University (Gift of the B. Gerald Cantor Collection). Photo: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University.

the aesthetic language of a medical disorder. In so doing, it aims to reaffirm, and redefine, the modernity of his work.

Hysteria was seen as a quintessentially modern epidemic, the 'palpitating question of the day'.[6] It seemed to typify the nineteenth century, an age of 'nervousness and sensitivity', according to art critic Gustave Geffroy in an article on Rodin's sculpture.[7] Though hysteria's irregular symptomatology, which included paralysis, convulsions and fainting, had puzzled doctors since the time of Hippocrates, the pervasive nineteenth-century opinion that it was a product of modernity was evident in popular books and magazines.[8] The fact that many of these highlighted the role of Charcot in the understanding and treatment of hysteria suggests that his celebrity increased in tandem with public anxiety over the disorder (*plate* 2). From 1862 Charcot ran the medical service of the Hôpital de la Salpêtrière,

© Association of Art Historians 2013

which was founded by Louis XIV to house the mentally ill and poor women of Paris. Often described in Dantesque terms, the Salpêtrière housed five thousand women in its complex of over forty buildings by the time Charcot made it famous. The objects in the museum of pathological anatomy Charcot established may also have informed Rodin's production during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In order to portray the human condition in modern times – the inherent anxiety of the metropolis, the contagion of the crowd, the collective despair at perceived degeneration – Rodin needed to replace what he saw as the stale tropes of artistic convention, the tired themes of the Salon and the stock poses of its protagonists. He was adamant throughout his career about his interest in nature, and while Rodin scholars have generally assumed that he was only interested in the healthy body, the sculptor was, in fact, also intrigued by the physical manifestations of illness. Paul Gsell recounted a conversation in which Rodin asserted that:

> … to the great artist, everything in nature has character; for the unswerving directness of his observation searches out the hidden meaning of all things. And that which is considered ugly in nature often presents more character than that which is termed beautiful, because in the contractions of a sickly countenance, … in all deformity, in all decay, the inner truth shines forth more clearly than in features that are regular and healthy.[9]

What Rodin saw as the purported authenticity, the 'inner truth', of the diseased body appealed to him because he believed that it could provide the unmediated contact with nature that nourished his work. Attempting to surpass the superficial eroticism, misguided historicism, overbearing realism and easy sentimentality that typified Third Republic sculpture, Rodin inscribed his figures' interior struggles on their surfaces and in their postures and was subsequently lauded for capturing the spirit of the age.[10]

2 Abel Lurat, *Jean-Martin Charcot demonstrating hysteria in a hypnotised patient at the Salpêtrière,* 1888, after André Brouillet, *A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière,* 1887. Etching (state before lettering, apparently artist's proof), 24 × 34.8 cm. London: Wellcome Library. Photo: Wellcome Library, London.

© Association of Art Historians 2013

One of the most provocative aspects of the *Gates of Hell* is the overwhelming sense of humanity simultaneously 'in revolt and punished', as art critic and novelist Octave Mirbeau insightfully remarked in the first article published on the sculpture (see *plate 1*).[11] Figures overflow from the turbulent ground and rigid five-metre frame of the doors. Rodin multiplied his sculpture of *Adam* (1881), the father of humanity, recasting it as *The Three Shades* (before 1886) who loom ominously above the portal to the kingdom of the damned that was born from his original sin. The trio embody the work's despair and tension in the taut strain of their deformity: an unseen weight forces the figures' necks and heads into an excruciating elongation to form a unified and unnatural horizontal. The pensile arms, terminating in truncated, fingerless stumps, form a pair of inverted triangles which themselves describe an ineluctable plunge into the torment below. *The Three Shades* are separated from the chaos by a relief of thorny vines and a row of partially submerged faces, many of which have blank expressions that suggest failing consciousness or descent into an oblivion of madness. These vacuous faces frame the immense form of the psychically detached *Thinker* (1881–82), who dominates the crowded tympanum, his cerebral action energizing his hyper-muscular body.[12] Symbolizing rational thought, the inwardly posed male figure projects a stark contrast with the souls below whose embrace of vice has reduced them to twisted forms that convulse in eternal torment. The *Thinker* stands as a measure by which to judge their remove from reason. Figured pilasters border the two main doors, which are animated by sinewy limbs and ill-defined forms, some attempting to wrench free while others submit to their fate. The visual dissonance of the space is amplified by the contrast between well-defined bodies emerging from turbulent waves and indeterminate masses of flesh bleeding into the seething ground, itself an active participant in the turmoil of the scene.

Twentieth-century art historians, most notably Albert Elsen (1927–95), have studied Rodin's sculpture through the lens of Michelangelo, Baudelaire, Mallarmé and, of course, Dante.[13] But only Debora Silverman has examined Charcot's impact on Rodin's work. In *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France* (1989), Silverman connects the *psychologie nouvelle* of the late nineteenth century to Rodin's *Gates* through a detailed reading of the *Thinker*, in whom she sees the sculptor externalizing the interior world of nervous energy onto the surfaces of the body. The sculpture, Silverman writes, 'was not meditating over the human condition in general; he was meditating his own internal unconscious forces'.[14] Silverman recognized Charcot's imprint on Rodin's thinking, noting that Rodin would have 'derived his clinical understanding of the psyche' from Charcot.[15]

The material manifestation of Charcot's influence in Rodin's oeuvre derived from their shared focus on the human psyche and was grounded in the sculptor's social and personal ties to the neurologist and his circle. Archival evidence reveals the depth and breadth of their social and familial connections.[16] The sculptor was part of the intellectual circle that regularly saw the doctor, both in his amphitheatre and at the receptions hosted by his family every Tuesday evening from October through May. Writers Alphonse and Léon Daudet were close friends of both men, as were Jules Claretie and the sculptors Alexandre Falguière and Jules Dalou, to name a few.[17] In fact, Dalou's portrait of Charcot stood beside Rodin's portrait of Dalou in the Salon of 1884.[18] That year, Rodin sculpted the bust of another member of Charcot's entourage: Republican politician Antonin Proust, who for a short time in the early 1880s as Minister of Fine Arts and later as President of the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, was pivotal to the *Gates* commission.[19] Rodin and Charcot may have come into contact at a reception in the home of Charcot's stepdaughter Marie Liouville. She

© Association of Art Historians 2013

and her husband, doctor and politician Henry Liouville, began seeing Rodin socially as early as 1883, and they seem to have had a close relationship.[20] In 1888, Charcot invited Rodin to the second wedding of his recently widowed stepdaughter to lawyer and politician Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau.[21] Rodin maintained contact with Charcot's stepdaughter (now Marie Waldeck-Rousseau) over the course of the next fifteen years and was present at the funeral of her second husband in 1904.[22] A few years later, Rodin was invited to the wedding of Charcot's son, Doctor Jean-Baptiste Charcot, who would become a famous explorer.[23] Casual invitations to dinners, along with formal invitations to weddings and funerals, indicate an intimacy between the artist and the doctor's family that lasted at least a quarter-century.

Rodin was also connected to Charcot's inner circle at the Salpêtrière. In May 1893, Doctor Joseph Babinski (1857–1932), one of Charcot's most important protégés, contacted Rodin to set up an appointment with him, at the recommendation of another doctor.[24] Their letters indicate that they remained in contact for at least the next five years and that Rodin gave the doctor a sculpted torso, which Babinski described as 'marvellous, from whichever side one examines it'.[25] Babinski's role in Charcot's retinue was well known by the beginning of his relationship with the sculptor. Thus Rodin, who would have been as aware of the popular sensational fixation on hysteria as any Parisian at the time, had exceptional exposure and access to the medical discourse on the subject because of his strong ties to Charcot's family and intellectual circle.

'The Century of Charcot'

In 1885, a few months after he authored the first description of the *Gates of Hell*, Octave Mirbeau published an article in *L'Événement* in which he characterized his age as 'the century of nervous diseases' because they motivated its events and were the focus of its scientific obsession.[26] Thus, Mirbeau writes, 'it will perhaps not be the century of Victor Hugo nor the century of Napoleon, but the century of Charcot.'[27] In the opening lines of this largely overlooked article, in which the author describes in detail one of Charcot's celebrated lessons and the frisson caused by its partially disrobed and hypnotized hysterics, Mirbeau calls for a painting of the doctor in his amphitheatre as a pendant to Rembrandt's *Anatomy lesson of Doctor Nicolaes Tulp* (1632, Mauritshuis, The Hague). This would become 'the painting of the century' if the artist managed to create a work that was worthy of the model.[28] The young and ambitious realist painter André Brouillet (1857–1914) seems to have taken up Mirbeau's challenge with *Une Leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière* (see *plate* 2), exhibited at the Paris Salon two years later.[29]

Brouillet's painting celebrates Charcot's fame while immortalizing his acclaimed lessons. Charcot dazzled his audiences with visual aids, such as photographs, sculptures, diagrams, graphs, lantern slides and even patients, like Blanche Wittmann (1859–1913), 'the Queen of the Hysterics', whose swooning form appears in Brouillet's painting.[30] Charcot pursued artistic interests throughout his life, often incorporating them into his medical career and nurturing them in his students, after being forced by his father to choose a career in either art or medicine.[31] In Brouillet's painting, Charcot's audience of doctors, writers and politicians is framed by the construction of hysteria: a large drawing of a hysteric in the *arc-de-cercle* pose by his protégé Doctor Paul Richer (1849–1933) (shown seated, just to Charcot's proper right) is affixed to the back wall on the left, both predicting and validating the attitude of Wittmann, who is held tenderly by Rodin's doctor Babinski in the right foreground of the painting.[32] Wittmann's body conceals

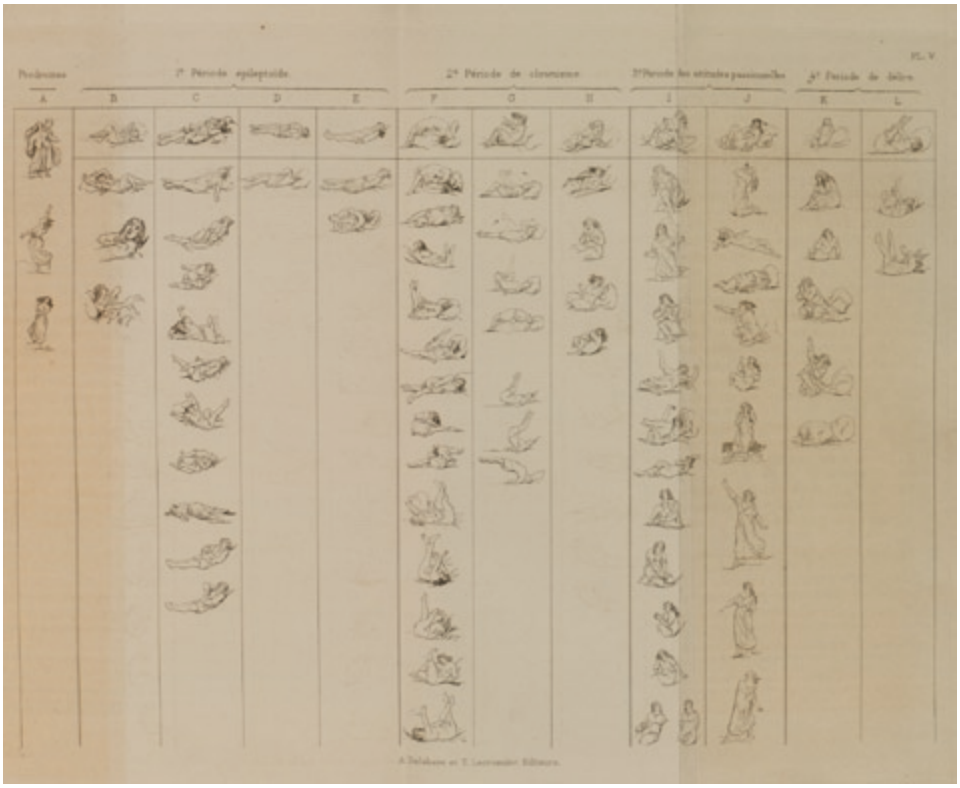
© Association of Art Historians 2013

Charcot's left leg and hip, as well as most of his left arm – Brouillet painted the pair as a modern Adam giving rise to a hysterical Eve.[33]

In the scientific community, Charcot was famous for identifying multiple sclerosis, neuropathic arthropathy (known today as 'Charcot Joint') and amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (still known in France as 'Charcot's Disease'), among other neurological disorders.[34] In 1882, recognition of the advancements in neurology resulting from his work led to his appointment as the first chair in the field at the Faculté de médecine. His renown, however, extended well beyond medical circles – he was a celebrity even among the general public. His name appeared many times in the 1880s on the front page of *Le Figaro*, and depictions of the hospital and the infernal state of its patients were engraved in *Paris illustré* and *Le Monde illustré*.[35] The Salpêtrière even featured in guidebooks at the end of the century as an attraction on the Left Bank.[36] In 1887 Charcot himself appeared on the cover of the popular *Revue illustrée*,

3 Paul Renouard, *Docteur Charcot*, cover of *La Revue illustrée*, 4: 40, 1 August 1887. Photo: © The British Library Board (P.P.4283.i).

© Association of Art Historians 2013



4 Paul Richer, 'Un Tableau synoptique de la grande attaque hystérique et des variétés qui résultent de modifications apportées aux éléments qui la constituent', from Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques sur la Grande Hystérie ou Hystéro-Épilepsie*, second edition, Paris, 1885, plate V. Photo: Reproduced by courtesy of the University librarian and Director, the John Rylands Library, the University of Manchester.

standing before a wall of illustrations showing typical hysterical postures, very much like an artist standing before his work (*plate* 3).[37] He was famous outside France as well: in 1885 the young Viennese doctor Sigmund Freud received a fellowship to study with Charcot and spent almost five months in Paris, dividing his time between the Salpêtrière, the Louvre and the theatre – arguably three interests that were not unrelated.[38]

In medicine's search for the 'physical stigmata of degeneracy', hysteria's highly visible symptoms made it an obvious target.[39] The importance Charcot assigned specifically to the visual, along with the fact that he was unable to find a physiological cause for hysteria, caused him to lend particular credence to the performative aspect of the disorder.[40] He encouraged his protégés to focus on the visual, as well. Under his direction, Doctors Désiré-Magloire Bourneville and Paul Régnard published one of the most important sources for images of hysteria: the *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière*, which, as its title suggests, provided a photographic record of the ailment's victims and their symptoms.[41] Its three volumes, produced between 1876 and 1880, focus on the disturbing and sometimes provocative postures of the hysteric during an attack. The Salpêtrière School restarted the project eight years later; the *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière*, published annually until 1918, comprises medico-artistic case studies and articles on myriad neurological disorders.

Paul Richer, who would become Professor of Anatomy at the École des beaux-arts in the early twentieth century, also contributed significantly to the public dissemination of hysteria's visual signs. In 1881, under Charcot's auspices, he published *Études Cliniques sur la Grande Hystérie ou Hystéro-Épilepsie*, a book which 'made a sensation', according to French medical historian and parasitologist Raphaël Blanchard.[42] In the second edition of 1885, Richer collated most of his illustrations from the earlier version into a detailed chart of the four stages of the hysterical attack: epileptoid, clownism, passionate attitudes and delirium (*plate* 4).[43] The first phase of

© Association of Art Historians 2013

the attack was marked by symptoms that resemble epilepsy. (Hysteria was known in France at the time as hysteroepilepsy, and it was later hypothesized that epileptics provided the model for many of its 'symptoms'.) Charcot named the second stage of the attack 'clownism' because the hysteric often performed bizarre acrobatics. The passionate attitudes comprised hallucinations, ecstatic poses and often storytelling. Finally, a delirious hysteric would continue her hallucinations and visions before returning to the 'real world'.[44]

Richer's chart consists of twelve columns that map the stages of the hysterical attack. The columns are headed by the most typical posture of each stage, and variations are displayed below. The hysterics are schematically represented either naked or dressed in revealing hospital gowns that expose the position of their arms and legs. In a couple of examples, only their grimacing faces and twisted torsos are shown. The stark mapping of the hysterical attack demonstrated Charcot and Richer's belief in the principle of the archetype. By dividing the disease into stages and cataloguing the potential postures of each, they hoped to create a universal diagnostic model. The mapping of the disorder's postures had the unanticipated effect, however, of facilitating, even encouraging, the transposition of hysteria's forms into other media.[45] These images were known to a general audience: some of Charcot's books, just like his famous Tuesday lectures, were intended not just for the medical community but also for an educated Parisian bourgeoisie that would have known him from popular sources.[46] In this way, Charcot's practice created an aesthetic.[47] Jean-Pierre Changeux and Gérard Régnier assert that 'the iconography of the Salpêtrière supplied [artists with] a vast field of new subjects between 1880 and 1900', while Rae Beth Gordon makes the argument that the 'hysterical aesthetic' influenced the café-concert and, consequently, modern art.[48] Most emphatically, Georges Didi-Huberman has written, 'I am nearly compelled to consider hysteria, insofar as it was fabricated at the Salpêtrière in the last third of the nineteenth century, as a chapter in the history of art.'[49] Charcot's emphasis on form would only augment the appeal of the hysterical lexicon as a target for artistic appropriation and facilitate Rodin's assimilation of hysteria into his sculpture.

Sculpting Hysteria

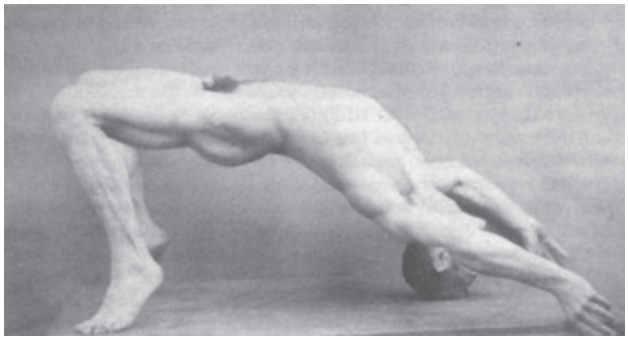
Rodin found 'character' in illness. He told Paul Gsell that:

> … we call ugly whatever is deformed, whatever is unhealthy, whatever suggests the ideas of disease, of debility, or of suffering, whatever is contrary to regularity, which is the sign and condition of health and strength …. But let a great artist or a great writer make use of one or the other of these uglinesses, instantly it is transfigured.[50]

Rodin's figures are clearly indebted to Charcot's project of cataloguing the contorted postures of the hysteric, but he 'transfigured' their illness. He 'made use of' them and their 'ugliness', manipulating their forms to create sculptures of mysterious power, intense emotion and extreme angst. By thus 'drawing nearer to nature', Rodin believed that he had found a truth sited in the body.[51]

Perhaps the most famous hysterical posture catalogued by Charcot was the *arc-de-cercle* seen in the second stage of an attack or the period of 'clownism'. One of the photographs in Charcot's library monumentalizes such a contorted male body (*plate* 5).[52] The back of Rodin's small *Kneeling Man* (before 1889) is similarly arched in a clichéd pose of sexual ecstasy (*plate* 6). This erotic attitude, which thrusts the body's

© Association of Art Historians 2013



5 Photograph of a male hysteric in the *arc-de-cercle* pose from the Bibliothèque Charcot, Paris, illustrated in Christopher G. Goetz, Michel Bonduelle and Toby Gelfand, *Charcot: Constructing Neurology*, Oxford, 1996, 204, figure 6-6b. Photo: By permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.

6 Unknown photographer, *Kneeling Man* (*Homme à genoux*). Glass plate, dimensions unknown. Paris: Musée Rodin (Inv. #Ph 8783). Photo: Courtesy of the Musée Rodin, Paris.

erogenous zones forward, was commonplace in both art and medicine and points to the circular relationship between artistic and scientific images in the nineteenth century. There seems to have been an epidemic of climactic 'broken backs' in *fin-de-siècle* Salons,[53] perhaps attributable to the dissemination of the hysterical version of the posture. Interestingly, however, both the photograph and the sculpture depict a male body. Though Pierre Briquet had discussed the existence of male hysteria in his *Traité clinique et thérapeutique de l'hystérie* (Paris, 1859), Charcot and his school popularized its presence in men; Charcot began seeing male patients in the outpatient clinic and the small male ward that he established at the Salpêtrière in the early 1880s.[54] In their attacks, men tended to perform more energetic acrobatics, like the *arc-de-cercle*, and therefore depictions of male hysterics tended to favour this posture.[55]

In the photograph, the body of the hysteric is utterly strained (see *plate* 5). He has pushed himself up on his toes and his hands reach out to the edge of the platform that supports him. The muscles in his legs and buttocks are defined from the exertion, and his head seems to carry most of the body's weight. The photographer has chosen an angle that hides the patient's face behind his left arm, perhaps a deliberate tactic to ensure the hysteric's anonymity. Rodin's figure is more relaxed by comparison, its upper body resting on forearms folded insouciantly behind the head (see *plate* 6). Only the left foot is planted flat on the floor, while the right rests lightly on its heel. The face is angled toward the viewer, displaying slightly parted lips and blank hollows for eyes. The body's uncanny smoothness, highlighted by the bronze, and the vestiges of the *Gates* attached to the upper back underscore Rodin's departure from naturalism.

Rodin's *Kneeling Man* is small enough that it can be easily manipulated to alter its orientation. Rotated 180 degrees, the raised legs and suspended head and arms would suggest a different kind of tension in the body and engender a completely different reading. Placed on its knees, as its vestigial title indicates it was at some point, the sculpture's address would significantly change: its pose would seem languorous and seductive. And while the *Kneeling Man* is placed in this position on the *Gates*, its knees do not rest on solid ground. The figure straddles the top edge of the right door, its hands just touching the horizontal base of the tympanum. A groundswell rushes upward behind it, coursing from its proper left in a swathe that resembles drapery or wings, lending the figure an air of majesty. The crouching *Grief-Stricken Damned Woman* (*c.* 1888–89?) has been forced between its legs, supporting the *Kneeling Man* and connecting it to a fleshy mass of almost indistinguishable limbs and bodies.[56] Physically connected to the door yet psychically detached, the figure serves as a visual transition from the disorder below to the tympanum and the *Thinker* above. By reorienting the body and changing the context, Rodin transforms the hysterical pose, making it almost unrecognizable. Unlike the Salpêtrière images, which attempt to fix meaning by classifying poses, Rodin's works relish indeterminacy and invite multivalent readings.

© Association of Art Historians 2013

7 Auguste Rodin, *Damned Woman (Woman Lying on her Back)*, c. 1884. Bronze, 20.3 × 39.4 × 26 cm. Stanford, CA: Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University (Gift of the Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Foundation). Photo: Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University.

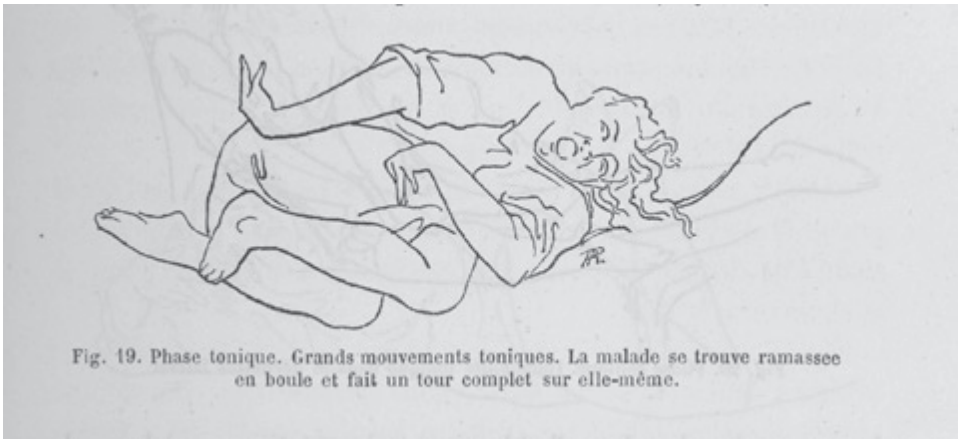


Fig. 19. Phase tonique. Grands mouvements toniques. La malade se trouve ramassee
en boule et fait un tour complet sur elle-même.

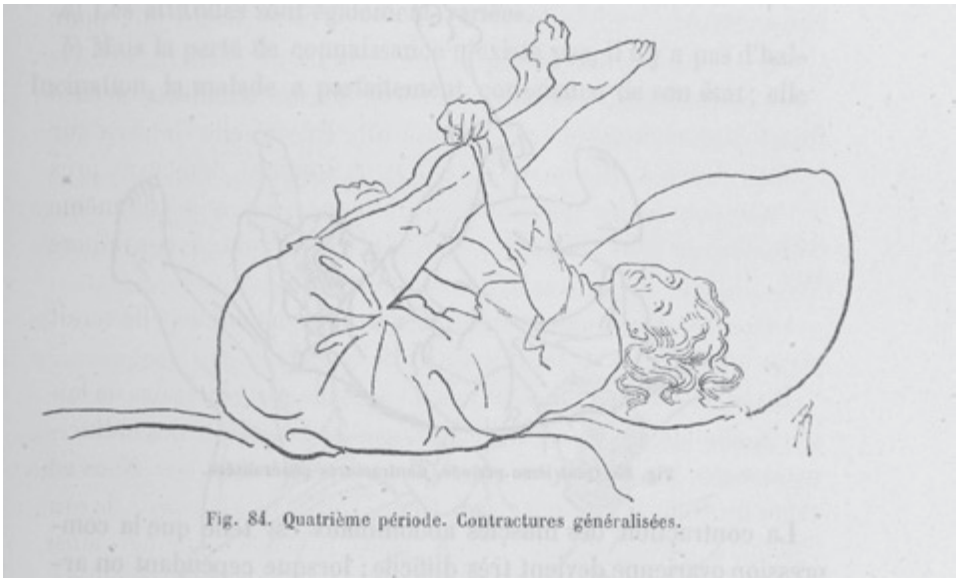
8 Paul Richer, 'Phase tonique. Grands mouvements toniques', from Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques sur l'Hystéro-Épilepsie ou Grande Hystérie*, Paris, 1881, 53, fig. 19. Photo: Wellcome Library, London.

Rodin's *Damned Woman* resembles a hysteric in the epileptoid phase of the attack in a drawing by Richer (*plate 7* and *plate 8*).[57] The knees are pressed upwards, and the arms are flung to one side of the body. The hands of both figures are contracted, though Rodin has subtly altered the contractions to point in towards the sculpted body, rather than out. The *Damned Woman* brandishes arms that end in blunt stumps, whereas Richer has articulated the fingers so as to emphasize the contraction of the hand. Richer tells us that in this curled-up position the patient turns her body around and around, and Rodin has captured the hysteric pausing momentarily on her back.[58] Richer's drawing depicts the woman in wide-eyed and open-mouthed shock, the serpent-like tendrils of hair abetting the expression of the disorder. Unusually, the sculpted figure has a clear expression of dismay, the open mouth suggesting a howl of despair that contrasts with its deep-set, blank eyes. On the *Gates*, the *Damned Woman* lies on her back, her head dangling off the tympanum over the right door. In fact, all that is visible of her from the ground is the suspended

© Association of Art Historians 2013

head, hunched shoulders and bent legs, which suggest a tensed body attempting in vain to keep from falling.

Another Rodin sculpture, originally titled *Figure on a Book* (before 1898), echoes a pose typical of the delirious hysteric, whose whole body could remain in a painful contraction long after an attack ended (*plate 9* and *plate 10*).[59] This small plaster figure of a woman rests on a cast of a book, cradled by the billowing sheet that lies between them. In the drawing by Richer, the hysteric's 'harrowing', open-mouthed cry contrasts with the blank stare of the sculpture's face, but the strained wrenching of their right wrists are mirror images.[60] In both cases, their curved backs seem fully supported, but their heads are suspended above the sheets on taut, twisted necks that communicate intense discomfort. The tension of the pose is highlighted by the unnatural position



9 Auguste Rodin, *Ecclesiastes*, conceived before 1898; cast before 1917. Plaster, 25.4 × 27.9 × 25.4 cm. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art (Bequest of Jules E. Mastbaum, 1929). Photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

10 Paul Richer, 'Quatrième période. Contractures généralisées', from Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques sur l'Hystéro-Épilepsie ou Grande Hystérie*, Paris, 1881, 141, fig. 84. Photo: Wellcome Library, London.

© Association of Art Historians 2013

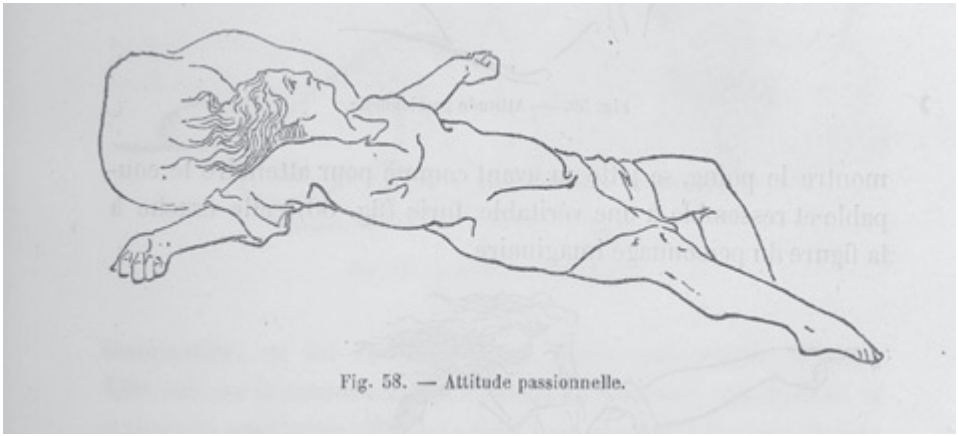
of the limbs and the ill-defined mass of hands and feet of *Ecclesiastes*, as Rodin's figure is now known – it is tempting to consider that the sculpture was renamed because of its resemblance to ecstatic figures in religious imagery, or hysterics *avant la lettre*.[61] Count Robert de Montesquiou described this sculpture as 'oppressing and illuminating with her nudity a book of science'.[62] Metaphorically, the sculpted hysteric illustrates the principles described in the 'book of science', but while the figure's nudity would seem to wholly reveal her body to science, the reason for her pose – like the cause of the disorder – remains a mystery. Rodin writes her psychic state onto her body, and Montesquiou lauds the truthfulness of that artistic vision over scientific accuracy.

Charcot's experiments with hypnosis also seem to have impressed Rodin. The fantastic rigidity of the hypnotized hysteric is appropriated in his *Thunderstruck*

11 Paul Régnard, 'Léthargie. Hyperexcitabilité musculaire', from [Désiré-Magloire] Bourneville et P[aul] Régnard, *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière*, vol. III, Paris, 1879–80, plate XIV. Photo: © The British Library Board (7660.dd.4).

12 Auguste Rodin, *Thunderstruck Damned Woman* (*Damnée foudroyée*). Bronze, 22.3 × 38.3 × 19.1 cm. Paris: Musée Rodin (Inv. #S.1157). Photo: Author, reproduced by courtesy of the Musée Rodin, Paris.

© Association of Art Historians 2013



13 Paul Richer, 'Attitude passionnelle', from Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques sur l'Hystéro-Épilepsie ou Grande Hystérie*, Paris, 1881, 97, fig. 58. Photo: Wellcome Library, London.

14 Auguste Rodin, *Small Martyr* (*Petite Martyre*). Plaster, 16.3 × 25.8 × 13.3 cm. Paris: Musée Rodin (Inv. #S.1178). Photo: Adam Rzepka/ADAGP, courtesy of the Musée Rodin, Paris. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2012.

Damned Woman (*c.* 1885?), a figure originally created for the *Gates* but excluded from the finished work (*plate 11* and *plate 12*).[63] Charcot used hypnosis both to induce attacks and to better understand hysteria, believing that the hysteric's increased suggestibility was another neurological manifestation of the disorder.[64] 'Mesmerism', or 'magnetism', as it was also called, was viewed with scepticism by many, because it had been practised by charlatans since the eighteenth century. The French Académie des Sciences had condemned its use until Charcot convinced its members of the treatment's effectiveness in 1882.[65] The rigid body of the infamous hysteric Augustine in the third volume of the *Iconographie Photographique* evinces an almost supernatural resistance to gravity.[66] Supported at the neck and ankles by the high backs of two chairs, Augustine's flesh seems to share the tensile strength of Rodin's small bronze. The figure's nudity and the rocky support lend a timeless quality to the sculpture, whose back arches in a subtly erotic *arc-de-cercle*. Incongruously, the bronze figure seems to require more support than the flesh-and-blood body of Augustine.

© Association of Art Historians 2013

15 Auguste Rodin, *Right Hand (called Hand No. 12)*, date and foundry unknown. Bronze, 6.1 × 3.3 × 2.3 cm. Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Collection. Photo: Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Collection.

16 *Hand*, end of the nineteenth century. Plaster, 19 × 8 × 8 cm. Paris: Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris. Photo: Author, reproduced by courtesy of the Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris.

Both the photograph and Rodin's sculpture abstract the bodies. In the photograph, Augustine is reduced to the stark black and white pattern formed by her hair, clothes and flesh. The legs of Rodin's figure are truncated at the knees, and its face is obscured under craggy lumps of matter. Rodin's treatment of the surface calls attention to the materiality of the figure and to its making, whereas the photograph generalizes the forms of the body in order to make the archetypal pose easily legible. The surface incident on the *Thunderstruck Damned Woman* distracts the viewer from the pose, drawing attention to the hand of the artist manipulating the material and to the rough contour of the back of the thighs that points to the sculpture's subsequent replication.

Throughout the Salpêtrière volumes, there are bodies that resemble Leo Steinberg's description of the *Gates*, with its figures that 'coast and roll as if on air currents, that stay up like the moon, or bunch and disband under gravitational pressures' (*plate 13* and *plate 14*).[67] Some of Richer's drawings of the third or 'passionate attitudes' stage of the hysterical attack ignore the bed completely, showing instead a floating figure whose very stiffness seems to keep it suspended. The 'crucified' hysteric seems to look ecstatically to heaven, her head only lightly resting on the loosely sketched pillow.[68] Rodin's *Small Martyr* (*c.* 1885) hovers tensely and enigmatically over empty space, her outsized hand clinging to a mound that bears the traces of the sculptor's tool. In contrast, her face and body lack all detail, forcing the viewer's focus onto her desperate gesture and the space that it animates. This is the same space that Steinberg saw as the 'impossible concept' behind the *Gates of Hell*, where figures 'drift and writhe like leashed flying kites'.[69] The profile of the *Small Martyr* is exposed at the very top of the *Gates*' left door, where it gives an impression of angularity: the sharp triangle of her tensed left arm, the circumflex of her bent right leg, and the obtuse angle of her upper and lower body hinged at the hips. In situ, the visual analogy with the hysterical posture is superseded by geometrical sharpness, yet the sculpture retains its bodily tension. The figure grasps the swelling ground of the *Gates* in order to avoid falling, her left leg extended downward in a futile attempt to find solid footing among the twisted and suspended bodies of other lost souls.

The Musée Charcot

Charcot complemented the 'living pathological museum' of the Salpêtrière with the so-called Musée Charcot, created during his tenure.[70] This museum of pathological anatomy contained anatomical specimens, casts, sculptures, photographs, paintings, drawings and 'scientific artworks'.[71] The most complete description of it comes from Belgian philosopher and psychologist Joseph Delboeuf, who recounted visiting the

© Association of Art Historians 2013

hospital in the mid-1880s with philosopher and historian Hippolyte Taine to witness the hypnosis of Wittmann first hand:

> [The session] took place in a large room, a kind of museum, whose walls, even the ceiling, are decorated with a considerable number of drawings, paintings, engravings, photographs sometimes showing scenes with various individuals, sometimes a single patient naked or clothed, standing, sitting or lying down, sometimes a leg or two, a hand, a torso, or another part of the body altogether. All around, cupboards with skulls, spines, tibias, humeri showing this or that anatomical feature; everywhere, on tables, in vitrines, a pell-mell of jars, instruments, machines; the image in wax, not yet completed, of an old woman [the *Ataxic Venus*], nude and lying on a kind of bed; busts, including that of [Franz] Gall, painted green.[72]

The objects exhibited in the Musée Charcot were obviously quite disparate and even included the Salpêtrière's patients; having witnessed Wittmann wandering through the museum**,** Delboeuf characterized her as 'a true specimen of a living laboratory'.[73] All these different kinds of 'evidence' stood on equal footing through an emphasis on the visual and through the purportedly objective vehicle of the clinician. As Charcot famously asserted, 'I am absolutely nothing but the photographer [at the Salpêtrière]; I inscribe what I see.'[74]

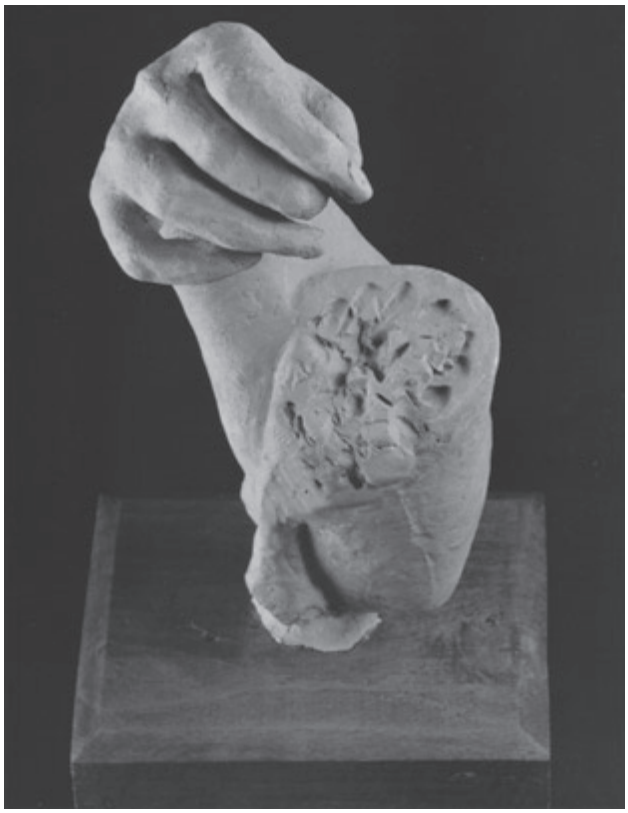
Under the direction of a Doctor Loreau and then Paul Richer, the Salpêtrière's casting studio continued a long tradition of making wax and plaster casts of patients' bodies to illustrate pathology. The disembodied hand or foot was a staple not only of the artist's atelier, but also of the medical museum, whose importance to artists in the nineteenth century should not be underestimated.[75] According to Rodin's biographer Judith Cladel, in the 1860s the sculptor spent time copying in the Musée Dupuytren, the famous museum of pathological anatomy located on the same street as the École impériale spéciale de Dessin et Mathématiques (informally known as the Petite École) where Rodin had studied in the previous decade.[76] He would therefore have been familiar with medical museums and the display of fragmented figures in a scientific setting.

Many of the hands that Rodin sculpted are remarkably similar in pose to the ones from the Salpêtrière (*plate 15* and *plate 16*) – they differ only in scale and degree of concern with naturalistic detail.[77] The museum's cast hands are rendered hyper-realistically, while the smooth, reflective surfaces of Rodin's bronze effectively de-emphasize detail and betray the hand's artificiality. Both the sculptor's and the museum's hands end abruptly and cleanly above the wrist, but Rodin's 'signature' on the bronze highlights the artifice of his work, as does its exceedingly small size. Along with another pair of examples (*plate 17* and *plate 18*), they illustrate the same medical symptom: hysterical contracture. The fingers of Rodin's terracotta are posed more delicately than the cast hand, which rests unnaturally on a pillow or mound. The fingertips of Rodin's sculpted hand are left rough and the nails undefined. Its arm is framed by formless matter, making it clear that this hand was not simply cast. Ultimately, the hands that Rodin sculpted serve a very different purpose from those in the Musée Charcot: they reveal Rodin's faith in the primacy of artistic expression over 'objective' description, the purported goal of scientific illustration in the late nineteenth century.[78] The distinction between artistic and scientific 'truth' is one that Rodin had considered carefully; his comments on the 'scientific image' (i.e. the chronophotograph), for example, reveal his mistrust of the mechanical accuracy of indexical media in favour of the 'truthfulness' of artistic vision.[79]

© Association of Art Historians 2013

The hyper-realistic surfaces of the works in the medical museum served their didactic purpose as simulacra of and proxies for the absent patients. In contrast, the unnatural surfaces and impossible sizes of Rodin's sculpted hands point to their artificiality and, thereby, to the very act of creation by the artist.[80] After his *Age of Bronze* (1876) was scandalously accused of being cast from life, Rodin moved away from naturalism and towards expressiveness through pose and surface incident (or lack thereof). The details of the casts and the marked 'skin' of Rodin's sculpture are, in a sense, both significant traces, but the latter's work rejects the realism implicit in the medical casts. The similarity of the sculptures suggests that Rodin engaged with the images and the casts of the Salpêtrière patients, rejecting their 'objective' rendition of the disorder in favour of his own artistic expression.

The star of the Musée Charcot was the so-called *Ataxic Venus*, cast after death from the body of a sixty-year-old woman named Berthelot (*plate 19*).[81] The Salpêtrière patient had suffered from locomotor ataxia, caused by what is now known to be a syphilitic infection, resulting in the loss of coordination and the grotesque degeneration of the joints. In August 1881 Charcot gave an important lecture in London about this disease at the International Medical Congress.[82] The effect of the doctor's presentation – which helped to establish his European reputation – was heightened by the presence of the powerful visual aids he brought from Paris, which included photographs of Berthelot, her skeleton and the full-body wax cast.[83] We can assume that it was on the strength of his visual evidence that the venue for Charcot's lecture was a temporary 'museum' set up for the Congress at the Geological Society in Burlington House, just next door to the Royal Academy of Arts. He wrote to his wife from London quite proudly, 'My wax lady has made a sensation.'[84]



17 Auguste Rodin, *Right Arm* (*Bras droit*), c. 1890 (?). Terracotta, 19.9 × 8.5 × 9.2 cm. Paris: Musée Rodin (Inv. #S.1362). Photo: Bruno Jarret/ADAGP, courtesy of the Musée Rodin/ADAGP, Paris. © ADAGP, Paris and DACS, London 2012.

18 *Hand*, end of the nineteenth century. Plaster, 16 × 24 × 7.5 cm. Paris: Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris. Photo: Author, reproduced by courtesy of the Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris.

At the Musée Charcot, Berthelot's cast was exhibited below eye level, as if on an examination table, forcing upon the visitor the perspective of the clinician examining a patient or the pathologist encountering a corpse.[85] The abnormality of the *Ataxic Venus* is all on the surface: the left arm juts out disturbingly from a deformed shoulder joint, and the left leg lies misshapen on the table. A layperson's lack of clinical knowledge about locomotor ataxia does not diminish the sheer visual impact of the painful deformities that mar this cast body. The unnatural contortions of the *Ataxic Venus* radiate agony and are the primary source of the work's exceptional power. This figure would have reaffirmed for Rodin that the expressive capacity of the human form was seemingly inexhaustible. It is visible in works such as the *Martyr* (1889) and *Meditation* (*c.* 1881–82), which began their existence as figures for the *Gates of Hell* and are still visible on its tympanum.[86] Their bodily gestures – the stretching of the *Martyr*'s shoulders, the unnatural

© Association of Art Historians 2013

19 *Moulage sur nature d'une femme morte des suites d'un rhumatisme articulaire deformant, dite Vénus-Ataxique*, by 1881 (?). Polychrome wax, 18 × 160 × 53 cm. Paris: Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris. Photo: © F. Marin/APHP.

bending of *Meditation*'s waist, and the strained necks of both – express much more than their faces. Meaning is located primarily in the body whether it is turned in upon itself or outward upon the world.

The raw nakedness of the *Ataxic Venus* is potent, too. Her sex is clearly visible, delineated under a thin tuft of hair. If, as Michel Foucault writes, the *scientia sexualis* functioned in the nineteenth century as an *ars erotica*, then it seems likely that the prevalence of sexualized, medicalized bodies already in the public realm paved the way for Rodin's overtly erotic sculptures.[87]

Rodin may or may not have seen these particular casts, photographs or drawings. However, the widely distributed imagery of the Salpêtrière had brought hysteria's otherwise arcane visual vocabulary into the vernacular at just the time that Rodin was introducing congruent forms in his art. This is not to say that Rodin simply reproduced cultural codes. As Anne Wagner asserts, he also produced them.[88] The hysterical postures he appropriated came to mean something more in his works – the body's physical affliction was transformed into psychological angst (or dis-ease). In other words, Rodin's bodies occupy a position apart from both the more rarefied language of medicine and the vulgar vernacular of popular culture, the latter demonstrated by turn-of-the-century caricaturists who portrayed Rodin's sculptures in the manner of the exaggerated and seemingly ridiculous postures of Charcot's patients (*plate 20*).

Depicting the Damned

From the beginning of his medical career, Charcot attempted to read illness in artistic renderings of the body as if they were flesh and blood.[89] Unsurprisingly, he used aesthetic criteria to judge hysterical attacks. In describing the acrobatics of a nude male hysteric, for example, he wrote: 'This whole part of the attack is, in the case of G…, perfectly beautiful, if I may put it that way …. You see that from the point of view of art, the images [of G…] leave nothing to be desired, but in addition they are for us very instructive.'[90] Charcot used art as evidence throughout his career – in effect, to legitimize his diagnoses – and he also co-wrote two books and many articles, principally with Paul Richer, on the dialogue between art and medicine.[91] Their most important book on the subject, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (1887), is a comprehensive study of images of people possessed by the devil in European art from the Middle Ages to their own time.[92] The inspiration for the book came from *The Miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola* (*c.* 1615–16, Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna) by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Standing before the painting, Charcot identified the historic belief in demonic possession as a sort of misdiagnosis of hysteria: in *Les Démoniaques*, he and Richer claim that 'miniatures, ivory plaques, tapestries, reliefs in bronze, frescoes, paintings, engravings have retraced scenes of exorcism and

© Association of Art Historians 2013

20 ***La Sculpture Moderne*****, from Louis Morin,** ***Revue des quat' saisons*****, 3, July–October 1900, n.p. Photo: Author.**

represented the attitudes and contortions of the "possessed" in which science finds today the precise features of a purely pathological state.'[93] For Charcot, the long history traced in the book revealed the permanence of hysteria; meanwhile, the re-enactment of the poses in his hospital served to prove the verity of its depictions in the past. Moreover, these works from the history of art influenced the 'savants-artistes' of the Salpêtrière.[94] Like Rodin, who looked to earlier artists for inspiration in shaping the bodies he sculpted, the Salpêtrière School called upon a long history of images of the diseased or deformed in order to create powerful and purportedly veridic representations of medical pathology, exemplifying the circular and mutually reinforcing relationship between art and science in the nineteenth century.

Charcot hoped that *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* would prove that hysteria was not simply a passing fad or *fin-de-siècle* illness. To this end, the authors wrote proudly that 'hysterical neurosis', a very old affliction, could no longer be considered 'the special malady of our century'.[95] Yet, despite Charcot's protestations, the popular perception of hysteria as the modern condition *par excellence* persisted. Rodin was working feverishly on the monumental *Gates of Hell* in the 1880s, the decade when Charcot's hysterics permeated the popular press and the consciousness of contemporary authors and artists. The Salpêtrière itself – a city within a city, home to 5,000 souls – was a source of inspiration for the *Gates of Hell*, the work Rodin would mine for almost forty years, pilfering its personages for individual sculptures throughout his career and, in the process, creating a modern sculpture.

Rodin seems to have chosen the theme of Dante's *Inferno* in 1880 when he was given the commission for the set of monumental doors that would become the *Gates of Hell*.[96] Dante describes a journey into the nine circles of hell where he listens to the laments of damned souls. In the *Inferno*, the sinners' bodies bear the marks of both the evil in their souls and the punishment they must eternally endure. By utilizing the

© Association of Art Historians 2013

iconography of hysteria, Rodin modernized the medieval poem, analogizing eternal damnation and the hereditary degeneration believed to be rampant in contemporary France. His conceit was to transfer the spiritual suffering of the damned to the very forms of their bodies, as 'if meaning, instead of preceding experience, occurs *within* experience', in the words of Rosalind Krauss.[97] In Rodin's sculpture, the body's gesture and imprintable surface convey the totality of its significance.

As exemplified by Charles Richet's talk of 'the breath of the devil and of all the demons of hell', in *fin-de-siècle* France Charcot's hysterics were considered the cultural descendants of those possessed by Satan in centuries past, and discussions of them routinely included references to the damned. Echoing Dante, Claretie described the Salpêtrière in the 1880s as a 'citta dolorosa', its inhabitants either suffering submissively or howling their fury.[98] An article on the cover of *Le Figaro* in 1883 dubbed the Salpêtrière simply 'hell'.[99] More than one author opined that Dante's words, 'Abandon hope all ye who enter here', should have been written on the Salpêtrière's gates.[100] This famous phrase was inscribed on the *Gates of Hell* around 1886.[101] Yet, as Anatole France wrote, 'Rodin's Hell no more resembles Dante's Hell than the thinking of our era resembles that of the thirteenth century. … The evil spirits who make these men and women suffer are their passions, their loves, and their hatreds, their flesh and their thoughts.'[102]

The kinship between the Salpêtrière hysterics and the individual figures that emerged from the *Gates* was apparent to the critics of the day, as exemplified by Jean Rameau's mock histrionics in the epigraph to this article: '"Oh Lord, Oh Lord, give me faith", I cried, beating my breast, "Help me find something beautiful in these goiters, these growths, these hysterical distortions!"'[103] And, in response to the sculpture in Rodin's joint exhibition with Claude Monet in 1889, a critic commented caustically in *La Liberté* that 'sculpture should not limit its subjects exclusively to those one finds at the Salpêtrière.'[104] Yet Rodin did not simply replicate the images of the disorder: removed from their original context and interpreted by an artist interested in the expressive potential of pain, the bodies of Charcot's hysterics transcend their affliction.

Furthermore, Rodin 'hystericized' the very ground underneath the figures, rendering opaque the 'transparent' ground of traditional relief.[105] Compared to 'boiling lava' by one contemporary critic, the ground of the *Gates* seems uncontrollable and inescapable, like the irrationality that characterized the hysterics at the Salpêtrière.[106] The *Gates of Hell* itself was a frame which, like the walls of the Salpêtrière, served to contain the disorder within. It rendered in bronze the hysterical spectacle within the gates of the hospital as a modern monument to the passion and despair inherent in human existence, attempting, like Charcot's hospital, to tease meaning from psychic chaos.

In an essay published at the start of the twentieth century, German philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel wrote that Rodin was the first to find 'a style with which [sculpture] expresses the attitude of the modern soul in the face of existence'.[107] He suggested that Rodin's figures articulated on their very surface the quotidian trauma inflicted by modern life upon the human psyche.[108] In an important passage, Simmel defined modernity through a link to the sculptor: 'Ancient sculpture sought the logic of the body, so to speak, [but] Rodin seeks its psychology. For the essence of modernity in general is psychologism, the experiencing and interpreting of the world in terms of the reaction of our inner life and indeed as an inner world.'[109] He found a hero in the sculptor who materialized in marble and bronze the anxiety of the age. For Simmel, that anxiety was caused by the 'intensification of nervous stimulation' inherent to life in the

© Association of Art Historians 2013

modern metropolis.[110] Others believed that the rise in nervous disorders at the end of the nineteenth century resulted from hereditary degeneration, fomenting a public fear of nervous conditions, prostitution, alcoholism, insanity and lawlessness, suggesting that it could even lead to human extinction. The loudest promulgator of this alarmist discourse was doctor and social critic Max Nordau, whose books on degeneration enumerated the symptoms of cultural degeneracy in the art of the time.[111] In his book *On Art and Artists* (1906), Nordau noted the similarities between Charcot's hysterics and the figures on Rodin's *Gates*: 'Fits of hysteria shake and twist these bodies …. The patients of the Salpetrière [*sic*] or the Atlas of Pictures edited in this *clinique* (*Iconographie de la Salpétrière* [*sic*]) evidently served him for models.'[112]

Most of the figures examined individually in this paper began their existence as part of the miserable swarm on the *Gates*, their writhing bodies demonstrating Rodin's appropriation and adaptation of hysterical postures. Some were ultimately removed from the final composition, but they all share a common conceptual genesis and artistic intent. In Rodin's hands, hysteria's archetypal poses metamorphosed into physical expressions of anxiety, desire, despair and modernity – 'life in all its immediacy', as Simmel realized.[113] The link between Rodin's sculpture and hysteria, apparent to contemporary critics, has remained unrecognized, unarticulated and unexplored since the start of the twentieth century. After Charcot's death in 1893, his views quickly fell into disfavour, his reputation suffered dramatically and even his own protégés rejected his theories. The obscuration of the connection between hysteria and Rodin's sculpture seems to have begun during the artist's own lifetime, which outlasted Charcot's by twenty years. Yet it now seems evident that Rodin discerned in Charcot's patients and the visual signs of hysteria the ideal expression of the modern human condition and of eternal damnation. By adapting the visual language of a medical phenomenon, the artist created a potent sculptural idiom that we recognize today as idiosyncratic of Rodin – and distinctly modern.

Notes

I would like to thank the curators, archivists, librarians and administrators who were instrumental in helping me carry out the research for this article: Anne Marie Chabot, Bénédicte Garnier, Cécile Geoffroy Oriente, Véronique Mattiussi and Hélène Pinet at the Musée Rodin; Véronique Leroux-Hugon, formerly the librarian at the now-defunct Bibliothèque Charcot of the Hôpital de la Salpêtrière; and Jean-François Minot and Dominique Plancher-Souveton, the former curator and current curator, respectively, of the Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris. I am grateful to the audiences who commented on earlier drafts of this material at the Musée Rodin, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Essex and the annual conferences of the College Art Association and the Modernist Studies Association. The History of Art Department and the School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania, as well as the Department of Art History and Theory at the University of Essex, provided funds for invaluable research trips; the School of Philosophy and Art History at the University of Essex paid for the illustrations. I am also indebted to the many dear friends and colleagues who have enthusiastically supported and critically engaged with this work: ***Art History*'s anonymous reviewers, Juliet Bellow, Anthea Callen, Beck Feibelman, Michaela Giebelhausen, Keren Hammerschlag, Mary Hunter, Meredith Malone, Christine Poggi, Susan Sidlauskas, Freyda Spira, Tania Woloshyn, Peter Vergo and Raffi Yegparian.

1 Jean Rameau, 'Rodin's Victory' [1898], trans. John Anzalone, *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980, 93–4 (originally published as 'La Victoire de M. Rodin', *Le Gaulois*, 3 May 1898).

2 Julian Klaczko, 'Causeries-Florentines: Dante et Michel-Ange', *La Revue des deux mondes*, 37, 15 January 1880, 241–80. This is an excerpt from Klaczko's book *Causeries Florentines* (Paris, 1880) that includes several essays on Dante. One of his characters remarks that Dante's *Inferno* leaves the reader with 'une impression plastique'; Klaczko, 'Causeries-Florentines', 277.

3 'si bizarre et si fantasques qu'on y voyait, il n'y a guère plus de deux siècles, le souffle du diable et de tous les démons de l'enfer!' Charles Richet, 'Les Démoniaques d'aujourd'hui', *La Revue des deux mondes*, 37, 15 January 1880, 342. The second part of his study, 'Les Démoniaques d'autrefois', appeared in *La Revue des deux mondes*, 37, 1 February 1880, 552–83. All translations are the author's own unless otherwise indicated.

4 'prodigieux vulgarisateur'; Ignotus [Félix Platel], 'Cabotinage', *Le Figaro*, 18 April 1883, 1. This essay also appeared in Félix Platel, 'M. Charcot', *Les Hommes de mon temps*, Paris, 1878, 377–88. For Charcot's biography, see Georges Guillain, *J.-M. Charcot, 1825–1893: His Life – His Work*, ed. and trans. Pearce Bailey, London, 1959 (originally published as *J.-M. Charcot, 1825–1893: sa vie, son oeuvre*, Paris, 1955), and Christopher G. Goetz, Michel Bonduelle and Toby Gelfand, *Charcot: Constructing Neurology*, New York, 1995.

5 'la grande maladie du siècle'; Jules Claretie, *Les amours d'un interne*, Paris, 1881, i.

6 'la question palpitante du jour'; Pierre Giffard, *Les Grands Bazars*, Paris, 1882, 157.

7 'de nervosité et de sensibilité'; Gustave Geffroy, 'L'Imaginaire', *Le Figaro*, 28 August 1893, n.p.

8 For an overview of the history of hysteria, see Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography*, Oxford, 2009; Mark S. Micale, *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and Its Interpretations*, Princeton, NJ, 1995; and Etienne Trillat, *Histoire de*

© Association of Art Historians 2013

l'*hystérie*, Paris, 1986. For a comprehensive discussion of sources that analyse hysteria from a variety of methodological approaches, see Micale, *Approaching Hysteria*, 33–107. The Daudets, Jules Claretie, and Guy de Maupassant, among many others, discussed Charcot and the Salpêtrière in the popular press and based scenes in their novels on what they witnessed there: for example, Claretie, *Les amours d'un interne*, and Léon Daudet, *Les Morticoles*, Paris, 1894. See also Bertrand Marquer, *Les* Romans *de la Salpêtrière: reception d'une scénographie clinique: Jean-Martin Charcot dans l'imaginaire fin-de-siècle*, Geneva, 2008.

9 Auguste Rodin, *Rodin on Art and Artists: Conversations with Paul Gsell* [1911], trans. Mrs Romilly Fedden, New York, 1983, 20.

10 For a sample of the kinds of works I allude to here, see F.-G. Dumas, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Paris Salon*, London, 1880, 153–60. Rodin's signature style develops before symbolist sculpture becomes more pervasive in the 1890s, though he is often linked with the movement. See Antoinette le Normand-Romain, 'Le symbolisme', in Anne Pingeot *et al.*, *La Sculpture française au XIXe siècle*, exhib. cat., Paris, 1986, 380.

11 'révoltée et punie'; Octave Mirbeau, 'Auguste Rodin', *Des Artistes. Peintres et Sculpteurs. Première Série, 1885–1896*, Paris, 1922, 17 (originally published in *La France*, 18 February 1885).

12 See Rodin's comments in *Saturday Night* (Toronto), 1 December 1917; cited in Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin*, New York, 1963, 52.

13 The scholarship on Rodin's oeuvre is vast. For a discussion of the *Gates* specifically, see Albert E. Elsen, 'Rodin's *Gates of Hell*', PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1955, published as Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin's Gates of Hell*, Minneapolis, MN, 1960. He later rewrote the book: Albert E. Elsen, *'The Gates of Hell' by Auguste Rodin*, Stanford, CA, 1985. Antoinette le Normand-Romain, formerly curator of the Musée Rodin, has written extensively and often about the *Gates*; see, for example, Antoinette le Normand-Romain, *La Porte de l'enfer*, Paris, 2006. See also the recent and insightful David J. Getsy, *Rodin: Sex and the Making of Modern Sculpture*, New Haven, 2010, esp. 59–171. Seminal essays by Steinberg and Krauss touch upon the *Gates*: Leo Steinberg, 'Rodin', *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art*, New York, 1972, 322–403 (this is an expanded version of Leo Steinberg, 'Introduction', *Rodin: Sculpture and Drawings*, exhib. cat., New York, 1963, 10–27); Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, Cambridge, MA, 1977, 7–37; and Rosalind Krauss, 'The originality of the avant-garde', *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, Cambridge, MA, 1993, 151–70. For a reading of Rodin's work through Mallarmé's notion of 'the suggested', see Claudine Mitchell, 'Metaphor and metamorphosis: Rodin in the circle of Mallarmé', *Cantor Arts Center Journal*, 3, 2002–03, 111–27. The best biographies on the artist remain Judith Cladel, *Rodin, sa vie glorieuse, sa vie inconnue*, Paris, 1936; and Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius*, New Haven, 1993. My reading of the *Gates* does not preclude other interpretations. Rodin relished indeterminacy, and his figures therefore encourage various – even contradictory – readings.

14 Emphasis removed; Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France*, Berkeley, CA, 1989, 267.

15 Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France*, 245.

16 There is a tantalizing entry in the Goncourt journals on 14 June 1888 that mentions both (and only) Rodin and Charcot. The link between them is made only figuratively, however. Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal: Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, vol. III: 1879–90, Paris, 1956, 801.

17 For details on Charcot's social circle, see Guillain, *J.-M. Charcot*, 32–4, and Goetz, Bonduelle and Gelfand, *Charcot*, 287–9. The correspondence files in the archives of the Musée Rodin, Paris, attest to Rodin's strong ties with these individuals. See, for example, the 'Alphonse and Julia Daudet' and the 'Jules Dalou' correspondence files, Archives of the Musée Rodin (referred to hereafter as AMR). The intimacy of the relationship between Rodin and Daudet is also evident from the 'Gustave Geffroy' correspondence file, AMR. Rodin's library also reveals his friendships with some of the literary figures of his day; see, for example, the inscription in Léon Daudet, *Germe et Poussière. Trois Causeries*, Paris, 1891. Inv. #7175 RG, Bibliothèque du Musée Rodin, Paris.

18 Roger Marx, untitled article, *Nancy-Artiste*, 22 May 1884; cited in Frederic V. Grunfeld, *Rodin: A Biography*, New York, 1987, 166.

19 For more on Proust and Rodin, see Butler, *Rodin*, 214–16.

20 The 'Henry [*sic*] et Marie Liouville' correspondence file, AMR, is full of invitations to lunch and dinner, mostly informal and last-minute, attesting to the closeness of their relationship. Grunfeld mentions that Rodin was a 'regular guest' at the Saturday dinners of Mme. Liouville – his source is Frederick Lawton, *The Life and Work of Auguste Rodin*, London, 1906, 72; cited in Grunfeld, *Rodin*, 145.

21 The invitation to the wedding on 7 September 1888 is in the 'Dr. Charcot' correspondence file, AMR. Silverman notes this invitation; Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France*, 365, n. 100.

22 See the correspondence file, 'Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau', AMR, and Charles Dauzats, 'Les Obsèques de M. Waldeck-Rousseau', *Le Figaro*, 14 August 1904, 2, located in the 'personne' file for Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau, AMR.

23 'Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau' correspondence file, AMR.

24 Letter dated 16 May 1893, 'J. Babinski' correspondence file, AMR. For more on Babinski, see Jacques Philippon and Jacques Poirier, *Joseph Babinski: A Biography*, New York, 2009.

25 'Le torse est merveilleux, quel que soit le côté par lequel on l'examine.' Undated letter, 'J. Babinski' correspondence file, AMR.

26 'le siècle des maladies nerveuses'; Octave Mirbeau, 'Le siècle de Charcot', *Chroniques du diable*, ed. Pierre Michel, Paris, 1995, 121 (originally published under the pseudonym Le Diable in *L'Événement*, 29 May 1885).

27 'il ne sera peut-être ni le siècle de Victor Hugo, ni le siècle de Napoléon, mais le siècle de Charcot'; Mirbeau, 'Le siècle de Charcot', 121.

28 'le tableau du siècle'; Mirbeau, 'Le siècle de Charcot', 121.

29 For a detailed analysis of Brouillet's painting, see Mary Hunter, 'Collecting Bodies: Art, Medicine and Sexuality in late Nineteenth-Century France', PhD dissertation, University College London, 2007, esp. 166–238. For more information on Brouillet, see *André Brouillet, 1857–1914*, exhib. cat., Poitiers, 2000, and Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris, *La Leçon de Charcot. Voyage dans une Toile*, exhib. cat., Paris, 1986, 15–16.

30 For an analysis of Charcot's performances, see Jonathan Marshall, 'Dynamic medicine and theatrical form at the fin de siècle: A formal analysis of Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot's pedagogy, 1862–1893', *Modernism/Modernity*, 15: 1, January 2008, 131–53. My thanks to Jonathan Marshall for generously sharing his knowledge of Charcot.

31 [Georges] Gilles de la Tourette, 'Jean-Martin Charcot', *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière*, vol. VI, 1893, 241; and Henry Meige, *Charcot Artiste*, Paris, 1925, 7–8 (the latter originally appeared in the *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière*, vol. XI, 1898, 489–516).

32 For the full list of the members of the audience, see Jean-Louis Signoret, 'Variété historique: Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière (1887) par André Brouillet', *Revue neurologique*, 139: 12, 1983, 687–701.

33 This metaphor can also be applied to the depiction of Charcot in the lithograph by Renouard from the same year, which was possibly inspired by Brouillet's painting. See *plate 3*.

34 Goetz, Bonduelle and Gelfand, *Charcot*, 100–19.

35 See, for example, Albert Wolff, 'Courrier de Paris', *Le Figaro*, 29 December 1882, 1; Paul Bonnetain *et al.*, 'La Terre. À Émile Zola', *Le Figaro*, 18 August 1887, 1; and Ignotus, 'Cabotinage', 1. Illustrations – all by Daniel Vierge – include: *Service de l'électrothérapie à la Salpêtrière. – Électro-Diagnostique par le Dr Vigouroux* and *Service d'élecrothérapie à la Salpêtrière. – Bain électrique. – Électrisation localisée*, in 'Service de l'électrothérapie, à la Salpêtrière,' *Le Monde illustré*, 31: 1585, 14 August 1887, 99 and 100, respectively, and *A la Salpêtrière: Un Réfectoire* and *A la Salpêtrière: Un Dortoir de femmes* in Maurice Guillemot, 'A la Salpêtrière. II', *Paris Illustré*, 1 October 1887, 372 and 373, respectively.

36 For example, Galignani Library, *Galignani's Paris Guide for 1890*, Paris, 1890, 218; Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris. Handbook for Travellers*, Leipsic, 1894, 259–60; and especially Henry Sutherland Edwards, *Old and New Paris: Its History, Its People, and Its Places*, vol. II, London, 1894, 209–11.

37 The drawing by Paul Renouard on the cover serves as an illustration for the article by Alexandre Guérin, 'Une Visite à la Salpêtrière', *La Revue illustrée*, 4: 40, 1 August 1887, 97–103. Most of the drawings are copied from the illustrations in Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques sur l'Hystéro-Épilepsie ou Grande Hystérie*, Paris, 1881.

38 Freud was in Paris from 13 October 1885 to 28 February 1886 and

© Association of Art Historians 2013

spent seventeen of those twenty weeks attending Charcot's lectures; Frank J. Sulloway, *Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend*, New York, 1979, 28.

39 'stigmates physiques de la dégénérescence'; Legrain, 'Les signes extérieures de la folie', *Presse Médicale*, 3, 1895, 501.

40 Freud famously called Charcot a 'visuel' in his obituary. Sigmund Freud, 'Charcot', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. James Strachey *et al.*, vol. III: 1893–99, London, 1962, 12.

41 The case studies in the *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière* often compare contemporary hysterics to the 'démoniaques' of the past; see, for example, *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière*, vol. I, 1876–77, 18–32, and vol. II, 1878, 116–18, 172–83 and 208–26.

42 Raphaël Blanchard, *Hommage à M. le Docteur Paul Richer à l'occasion de son election à l'Académie des beaux-arts (22 Juillet 1905)*, Paris, 1906, 11.

43 This chart was first published in Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques sur la Grande Hystérie ou Hystéro-Épilepsie*, second edition, Paris, 1885, plate V, though it is often erroneously attributed to the 1881 edition. For the history of the representation of the hysteric, see Sander L. Gilman, 'The image of the hysteric', in Sander L. Gilman *et al.*, eds, *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, Berkeley, CA, 1993, 345–452.

44 P[aul] Régnard and P[aul] Richer, 'Études sur l'attaque hystéro-épileptique faites à l'aide de la méthode graphique', *Revue mensuelle de médecine et de chirurgie*, 2, 1878, 643.

45 See, for example, Anthea Callen, *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method and Meaning in the Work of Degas*, New Haven, 1995, 52.

46 Sander L. Gilman, *Picturing Health and Illness: Images of Identity and Difference*, Baltimore, MD, 1995, 21.

47 Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, trans. Alisa Hartz, Cambridge, MA, 2003, 279 (originally published as *Invention de l'hystérie. Charcot et l'Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Paris, 1982).

48 'L'iconographie de la Salpêtrière fournit un vaste champ de sujets nouveaux entre 1880 et 1900'; Jean-Pierre Changeux and Gérard Régnier, 'Préface', in Jean Clair *et al.*, *L'âme au corps: arts et sciences, 1793–1993*, exhib. cat., Paris, 1993, 11. Gordon, for example, connects Edgar Degas' lithograph of *Mlle. Bécat aux Ambassadeurs* (1877–78) to the 'epileptic genre' of the café-concert; see Rae Beth Gordon, *Why the French Love Jerry Lewis: From Cabaret to Early Cinema*, Stanford, CA, 2001, 72–4. See also the more recent Rae Beth Gordon, *Dances with Darwin, 1875–1910: Vernacular Modernity in France*, Aldershot, 2009, esp. 11–57.

49 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 4.

50 Emphases removed; Rodin, *Rodin on Art and Artists*, 19.

51 'Je me promis de me rapprocher de la nature, c'est-à-dire de la vérité'; Rodin quoted in François Dujardin-Beaumetz, *Entretiens avec Rodin* [1913], Paris, 1992, 66.

52 Richer includes a variation of this posture in a male figure after a drawing by Charles Bell in Richer, *Études cliniques*, 1881, 76, fig. 38.

53 Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, New York, 1986, 105–9.

54 Goetz, Bonduelle and Gelfand, *Charcot*, 230 and 265, n. 11. For a detailed history of the disorder in men, see Mark S. Micale, *Hysterical Men: The Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness*, Cambridge, MA, 2008. It is worth noting that Mirbeau dedicated an article to the subject: Octave Mirbeau, 'L'Hystérie des mâles', *Chroniques du diable*, ed. Pierre Michel, Paris, 1995, 115–20 (originally published under the pseudonym Le Diable in *L'Événement*, 20 May 1885). For an analysis of hysteria through the lens of gender, see Elaine Showalter, 'Hysteria, feminism, and gender', in Sander L. Gilman *et al.*, eds, *Hysteria beyond Freud*, Berkeley, 1993, 286–344.

55 For a discussion of male hysteria in relation to the work of Louise Bourgeois, see Fae Brauer, 'Virilizing hysteria: Jean-Martin Charcot's and Louise Bourgeois' hysterical men', *Association of Art Historians Annual Conference*, University of Warwick, 2 April 2011. This talk was part of the panel on 'Medical Media: The Aesthetic Language of Medical "Evidence"', organized by Tania Woloshyn.

56 See Antoinette Le Normand-Romain *et al.*, *The Bronzes of Rodin: Catalogue of Works in the Musée Rodin*, vol. I, Paris, 2007, 289–90.

57 The illustrations of hysterics that follow are taken from Richer's *Études Cliniques*, 1881, but they can also be found in the 1885 edition of the same book and in Charcot and Richer's more popular *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*, Paris, 1887.

58 Paul Richer, *Études Cliniques*, 1881, 53.

59 Richer, *Études Cliniques*, 1881, 141. Richer's figure is visible behind Charcot in the cover illustration for *La Revue illustrée* (see *plate 3*). This sculpture does not appear on the *Gates*. Thomson compares *Ecclesiastes* to a different image by Richer; Richard Thomson, *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889–1900*, New Haven, 2004, 56.

60 'déchirant'; Richer, *Études Cliniques*, 1881, 141.

61 The sculpture was renamed by 1904, when it was exhibited in Düsseldorf. It may have been renamed by Robert de Montesquiou; *Rodin en 1900. L'exposition de l'Alma*, by Musée du Luxembourg, exhib. cat., Paris, 2001, 90, n. 108. Grappe suggested that the new title may have been inspired by the dictum *Vanitas vanitatum*; Georges Grappe, *Catalogue du Musée Rodin*, Paris, 1944, 100, cat. 292.

62 'opprimant et étoilant de sa nudité un livre de science.' Robert de Montesquiou, 'Auguste Rodin', *Les Maîtres artistes*, 8, 15 October 1903, 204.

63 Le Normand-Romain *et al.*, *The Bronzes of Rodin*, vol. I, 291. In French, this sculpture is called *La Damnée Foudroyée*; 'foudroyée' is a word that also appears in Richer's text in relation to the hysterical attack. See, for example, Richer, *Études Cliniques*, 1881, 45. The patient in the tetanic state of the hysterical attack or in the petrified state of hypnosis lent herself to a comparison with sculpture. See Ignotus, 'Cabotinage', 1, and Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 122. Charcot himself compared the hypnotized hysteric to an 'expressive statue'. J[ean]-M[artin] Charcot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. IX, Paris, 1890, 443; cited in Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 294.

64 See J[ean]-M[artin] Charcot and [Georges] Gilles de la Tourette, 'Hypnotism in the hysterical', *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*, ed. D. Hack Tuke, vol. I: A–H, London, 1892, 606–10.

65 See J[ean]-M[artin] Charcot, 'Sur les divers états nerveux déterminés par l'hypnotisation chez les hystériques', *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, 94, 13 February 1882, 403–5.

66 The photographs of Augustine have been discussed in detail by Georges Didi-Huberman in *Invention of Hysteria*. They were also used to illustrate André Breton and Louis Aragon, 'Le Cinquantenaire de l'Hystérie', *La Révolution Surréaliste*, 11, 15 March 1928, 20–2. For a feminist analysis of hysteria as mental illness, see Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980*, London, 1985, esp. 121–64.

67 Steinberg, 'Rodin', 338.

68 For more on the crucified posture, see Georges Didi-Huberman, 'Charcot, l'histoire et l'art. Imitation de la croix et démon de l'imitation', *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* [1887], by J[ean]-M[artin] Charcot and Paul Richer, Paris, 1984, 125–88.

69 Steinberg, 'Rodin', 338.

70 'musée pathologique vivant'; Jean-Martin Charcot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. III, Paris, 1890, 4.

71 'oeuvres d'art scientifiques'; Henry Meige, 'Sur une statuette représentant l'infantilisme myxoedémateux', *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière*, vol. XI, 1898, 136. For a discussion of Paul Richer's sculptures for the Musée Charcot, see the author's 'The "scientific artworks" of Doctor Paul Richer', *Medical Humanities*, 39, June 2013, 4-10 (doi:10.1136/medhum-2012-010279).

72 'Elle [la séance] eut lieu dans une grande salle, espèce de musée, dont les murailles, voire le plafond, sont ornés d'un nombre considérable de dessins, de peintures, de gravures, de photographies figurant tantôt des scènes à plusiers personnages, tantôt un seul malade nu ou vêtu, debout, assis ou couché, tantôt une ou deux jambes, une main, un torse, ou toute autre partie du corps. Tout autour, des armoires avec des crânes, des colonnes vertébrales, des tibias, des humérus présentant telle ou telle particularité anatomique; un peu partout, sur des tables, dans des vitrines, un pêle-mêle de bocaux, d'instruments, d'appareils; l'image en cire, non encore achevée, d'une vieille femme nue et étendue dans une espèce de lit; des bustes, parmi lesquels celui de Gall, peint en vert.' J[oseph] Delboeuf, 'Une Visite à la Salpêtrière', *Revue de Belgique*, 54, 15 October 1886, 122–3. My thanks to Jacqueline Carroy for her clarifications about Delboeuf. Other descriptions of the hospital include Guillemot, 'A la Salpêtrière. II', 371; Paul Peugniez, *J.-M. Charcot (1825–1893)*, Amiens, 1893, 5–6; Léon Daudet, *Devant la Douleur, souvenirs des milieux littéraires, politiques, artistiques et médicaux de 1880 à 1905*, Paris, 1915, 39; and Meige, *Charcot Artiste*, 14.

© Association of Art Historians 2013

73 'une véritable pièce de laboratoire vivante'; Delboeuf, 'Une Visite à la Salpêtrière', 259.
74 'je ne suis absolument là que le photographe; j'inscris ce que je vois'; Jean-Martin Charcot, *Leçons du mardi à la Salpêtrière, Policlinique 1887–88. Notes de cours de MM. Blin, Charcot et H. Colin*, Paris, 1892, 178.
75 Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 30.
76 Cladel, *Rodin*, 20.
77 Doctors have been able to 'diagnose' specific ailments in Rodin's sculpted hands; see Musée Rodin, *Rodin, les mains, les chirurgiens*, exhib. cat., Paris, 1983. For a discussion of these sculptures in the context of physiognomic theories, see the author's 'Essence and evanescence in the *Hands* of Rodin', *Thresholds*, 31, May 2006, 102–9.
78 Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*, New York, 2010, esp. 115–90. The artistic but purportedly objective practices of Charcot and the Salpêtrière School are the focus of the author's forthcoming book.
79 Rodin, *Rodin on Art and Artists*, 34. For an analysis of Rodin's comments on the chronophotograph, see the author's 'Auguste Rodin and the "scientific image": The sublime copy versus the photograph', in Minsoo Kang and Amy Woodson-Boulton, eds, *Visions of the Industrial Age, 1830–1914: Modernity and the Anxiety of Representation in Europe*, Aldershot, 2008, 109–36.
80 See Getsy's incisive discussion of 'Rodin's performative mark-making', Getsy, *Rodin*, 73–100.
81 A photograph of Berthelot is reproduced in *Transactions of the International Medical Congress. Seventh Session held in London, August 2nd to August 9th, 1881*, vol. 1, London, 1881, 130 and Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, 31, fig. 5.
82 His lecture can be read in *Transactions of the International Medical Congress*, 128–9.
83 See illustrations in *Transactions of the International Medical Congress*, 130–2.
84 Letter from 8 August 1881. Allart-Vallin-Charcot archives; quoted in Goetz, Bonduelle and Gelfand, *Charcot*, 147.
85 The sole surviving photograph of the museum is illustrated in Fernand Levillain, 'Charcot et l'École de la Salpêtrière', *Revue encyclopédique*, 4: 74, 1 March 1894, 112; and Musée de l'Assistance Publique – Hôpitaux de Paris, *La Leçon de Charcot*, 64, cat. 123.
86 See catalogue entries for *Martyr* and *Meditation* in Antoinette Le Normand-Romain *et al.*, *The Bronzes of Rodin: Catalogue of Works in the Musée Rodin*, vol. II, Paris, 2007, 502–6 and 509–14, respectively.
87 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, New York, 1990, 70–1.
88 Anne M. Wagner, 'Rodin's reputation', in Lynn Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, Baltimore, MD, 1991, 215–17.
89 See [Jean-Martin] Charcot and A[médée] Dechambre, *De Quelques Marbres Antiques concernant des études anatomiques*, Paris, 1857, 10 (originally published in the *Gazette hebdomadaire de médecine et de chirurgie*, 4: 25, 1857).
90 'Toute cette partie de l'attaque est, chez G…, parfaitement belle, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi …. Vous voyez qu'au point de vue de l'art, elles [les figures de G.] ne laissent rien à désirer; mais de plus elles sont pour nous très instructives.' Charcot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. III, 275–6.
91 For example, Charcot and Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*; J[ean]-M[artin] Charcot and Paul Richer, *Les Difformes et les Malades dans l'Art*, Paris, 1889; and J[ean]-M[artin] Charcot and Paul Richer, *Le Mascaron Grotesque de l'Église Santa Maria Formosa, à Venise, et l'Hémispasme Glosso-Labié Hystérique*, Paris, 1888, 1. The latter work also appeared in the *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière*, vol. I, 1888, 87–92.
92 The idea of possession in relation to hysterics also forms part of the Decadent literary movement in the *fin-de-siècle*: see Jacqueline Carroy, 'L'hystérique, l'artiste et le savant', in Jean Clair *et al.*, *L'âme au corps*, 453.
93 'Des miniatures, des plaques d'ivoire, des tapisseries, des bas-reliefs en bronze, des fresques, des tableaux, des gravures ont retracé des scènes d'exorcisme et figuré les attitudes et les contorsions des "possédés", dans lesquelles la science retrouve aujourd'hui les traits précis d'un état purement pathologique.' Charcot and Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*, vi–vii.
94 The term 'savants-artistes' is taken from Jean-Baptiste Charcot, 'Paul Richer', *Paris Médical*, 92, 1934, 317.
95 'névrose hystérique' and 'la maladie spéciale de notre siècle'; Charcot and Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*, v.
96 For more on the commission, see Elsen, *The Gates of Hell by Auguste Rodin*, 3–11. The *Gates* could also be discussed in relation to the Third Republic anti-clericalism movement – Charcot's protégé, Désiré-Magloire Bourneville, was one of its most vocal proponents – but this lies outside the scope of this article. For a discussion of hysteria and anticlericalism, see Jan Goldstein, 'The hysteria diagnosis and the politics of anticlericalism in late nineteenth-century France', *Journal of Modern History*, 54, 1982, 209–39; and Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1987, 322–77.
97 Emphasis in the original; Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, 27.
98 Jules Claretie, 'Charcot, le consolateur', *Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, 21: 1056, 1903, 180. Claretie also characterizes the Salpêtrière as 'le Versailles de la douleur' – according to Micale, Charcot himself referred to the Salpêtrière in the same way, but he does not give a reference; Mark S. Micale, 'The Salpêtrière in the age of Charcot: An institutional perspective on medical history in the late nineteenth century', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20: 4, October 1985, 719. Dante calls hell the 'città dolente' in the third canto of the *Inferno*; Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum, Toronto, 1981, 20. Guillemot compares the Musée Charcot specifically to Dante's *Inferno*: Guillemot, 'A la Salpêtrière. II', 371.
99 Ignotus, 'Cabotinage', 1.
100 'Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'intrate.' For example, Gilles de la Tourette, 'Jean-Martin Charcot', 245.
101 See Félicien Champsaur, 'The man who returns from Hell: Auguste Rodin' [1886], trans. John Anzalone, *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980, 49 (originally published as 'Celui qui revient de l'Enfer: Auguste Rodin', *Le Figaro*, Supplement, 16 January 1886).
102 Anatole France, 'The Gates of Hell' [1900], trans. John Anzalone, *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980, 105 (originally published as 'La Porte de l'Enfer', *Le Figaro*, 7 June 1900).
103 Rameau, 'Rodin's Victory', 93-4.
104 'la sculpture n'est pas faite pour borner exclusivement ses sujets à ceux qu'on trouve à la Salpêtrière.' E. de M., *La Liberté*, 26 June 1889; quoted in Musée Rodin, *Claude Monet–Auguste Rodin: Centenaire de l'exposition de 1889*, exhib. cat., Paris, 1989, 226. My thanks to Matthew Simms for bringing this review to my attention.
105 Here I am borrowing from Krauss' essay in which she discusses the 'opacity' of the ground of *The Gates of Hell*; Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, 25. See also Getsy, *Rodin*, esp. 77–171.
106 Champsaur, 'The man who returns from Hell', 49.
107 'einen Stil, mit dem sie die Haltung der modernen Seele dem Leben gegenüber ausdrückt'; Georg Simmel, 'Rodin' [1911], *Philosophische Kultur*, Berlin, 1983, 142. An abridged version of this essay appears in Georg Simmel, 'Rodin's Work as an Expression of the Modern Spirit' [1911], trans. John Anzalone, *Rodin in Perspective*, ed. Ruth Butler, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980, 127–30. Rodin had several books by the author in his library, including: Georg Simmel, *Mélanges de philosophie relativiste: contribution à la culture philosophique*, Paris, 1912, Inv. #5218 RA1; Georg Simmel, *Philosophie des Geldes*, Leipzig, 1900, Inv. #7848 RG; and Georg Simmel, *Michelangelo, ein Kapitel zur Metaphysik der kultur*, Tübingen, 1910, Inv. #7182 RG, Bibliothèque du Musée Rodin, Paris.
108 Simmel, 'Rodin', 150.
109 'Die antike Plastik suchte sozusagen die Logik des Körpers, Rodin sucht seine Psychologie. Denn das Wesen der Moderne überhaupt ist Psychologismus, das Erleben und Deuten der Welt gemäß den Reaktionen unsres Inneren und eigentlich als einer Innenwelt'; Simmel, 'Rodin', 152.
110 Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Modern Life' [1903], *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*, eds David Frisby and Mike Featherstone, London, 1997, 175.
111 His most influential book was Max Nordau, *Entartung*, Berlin, 1892.
112 Max Nordau, *On Art and Artists*, trans. W. F. Harvey, London, 1907, 279 (originally published as *Vom Kunst und Künstler* in 1906).
113 'als unmittelbares Leben'; Simmel, 'Rodin', 150.

© Association of Art Historians 2013